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ABSTRACT

This document, the fourth in the final report on the Multi-Disciplinary Graduate Program in Educational Research, is a qualitative case study designed to show the form of sociological contributions to and the role of sociologists in policy formulation at an American Educational Research Association (AERA) colloquium. Discussions at the conference centered around (1) the reward system of the educational research field, (2) the communication system of the field, (3) the quality of research, and (4) the influence of the AERA in its field and on the principal outside agents affecting the field. In exchanges over the nature and effectiveness of the AERA in these subject areas, it was illustrated that sociology played a role in making recommendations to colleagues and policy makers and in making decisions on matters brought before the group by virtue of the social science conceptual framework brought to bear on the problems under consideration, the empirical studies conducted on the problems, and the presence of social scientists as planners and decision makers. (MB)

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THE UTILIZATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL IDEAS IN ORGANIZATIONAL PLANNING

A CASE STUDY

by

Caroline Hodges Persell
Sociology Department
New York University

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THE UTILIZATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL IDEAS IN ORGANIZATIONAL PLANNING

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Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION

Few sociologists have addressed the problem of how sociology is utilized in policy formulation. One problem studying utilization is specifying how sociology is used. This includes both the form of sociological contributions, e.g., concepts versus empirical data, and the role of the sociologist in policy-making. What happens when sociological concepts or data are introduced as relevant to a problem? Are there intellectual as well as social and political factors which determine the extent of their use?

One way of gaining insights into these problems is by doing qualitative case studies of instances in which social science was or was not utilized by policy-makers. This monograph represents one such case study. The organization studied is the American Educational Research Association (AERA). The events comprising the case run from 1966 through 1973. All relate to AERA's position within the field of educational research, especially the problem of how the association could make an impact on educational research policies and practice. The study traces the influence of social science on problem-formulation, deliberation and decision-making

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I am indebted to Joan Nacarano for her research assistance in connection with this report. The comments of Paul F. Lazarsfeld on earlier drafts of this monograph have been most helpful.

A. The AERA

The American Educational Research Association describes itself as

> a professional scientific organization of behavioral scientists, educators, and those who support the development, application, and improvement of educational research. Among its members are university professors and deans, directors of research and other administrators in state and local school systems, research specialists in all phases of education including the federal government, graduate students, and educators in other countries.
>
> Its objectives are to encourage and improve educational research and its application, thereby increasing the contribution of education to human welfare. (Annual Report, 1968, 1969.)

At the time of this case study, AERA had about 6000 members. Two thirds of AERA members were employed by colleges or universities, 13 percent were in public, private or parochial schools, and the remaining members worked in government or private agencies or firms. Thirty-six percent described their "present major position" as teacher, 24 percent as administrator or supervisor, and 22 percent as researcher. The remaining 18 percent were students, curriculum specialists, counselors or psychologists or held other positions. Although AERA's statement names behavioral scientists first, 71 percent of members indicate they obtained their highest degree in education, 19 percent earned it in psychology, and 3 percent in some other behavioral science (sociology or political science), the remainder obtaining their highest degrees in other fields (humanities, natural science, etc.). When this case study began, there were six divisions of AERA: Administration, Curriculum and Objectives, Instruction and Learning, Measurement Research Methodology, Student Development and Personnel Services, and History and Historiography. Before the study ended another division had been formed, that of the Social Context of Education, which was designed to include the social scientists. The largest divisions were Instruction and Measurement. One other characteristic of AERA members is worth noting, and that is their relative youth. As of 1970, 68 percent had received their latest

degree in 1960-1969 and 20 percent more obtained their degrees in the previous decade, 1950-1959. Thus, AERA is primarily an association of recent degree holders.

B. The Concerns of the Association

When Richard Dershimer became the Executive Officer of the AERA in 1964, he recalls having two specific concerns. First, since his own training was in educational administration, he wanted to learn more about the field of educational research, including who the "statesmen" were, and what were the major concerns of the field. Second, he began puzzling over such questions as, 'What is it that a community of scholars does?", 'Why do they form an association?"

In the first couple years Dershimer was at AERA, a planning committee under the chairmanship of Ralph Tyler was discussing the association's future. The Tyler committee articulated a policy that AERA should set out to build a more interdisciplinary association of educational researchers. During the time that the Tyler committee was meeting, Dershimer recalls reading such sociology of science books as The Scientific Community by Warren O. Hagstrom (New York: Basic Books, 1965) and Bernard Barber and Walter Hirsch's in the Sociology of Science (New York: Free Press, 1962), which included some of Robert Merton's writings. Dershimer raised some questions with the Tyler committee about the relevance of those ideas for AERA, but they were not developed by the committee.

Despite this, Dershimer reports that he "had a strong intuition that there was something in the sociology of science that was applicable to AERA, and that they should try to consider it further." (R.D. interview, Oct. 16, 1973). He talked his ideas over with Henry Reiken (then at the Social Science Research Council) who, while he was skeptical that associations had done anything to help develop the state of knowledge in any field of science, nevertheless encouraged Dershimer to pursue his exploration of insights the sociology of science might provide for the improvement of AERA and educational research generally.

Another problem began to concern Dershimer, that AERA's relative influence within educational research and beyond. During his first year as Executive Officer, the National Academy of Education (NAE) was formed. Only one third of the NAE belonged to AERA, and that baffled Dershimer, and indicated to him that the influence and scope of AERA was not what it might be. Specifically, it became more apparent that all educational research was not being done by AERA members. Further, much of the "outstanding" research was independent of AERA. Thus, not only was AERA failing to be inclusive, (including all relevant educational researchers) it was also failing to be exclusive (i.e., including the more outstanding researchers).

Finally, between 1964 and 1967 Dershimer began to feel that the professional association was increasingly "impotent"* with respect to influencing the development of educational research. As he perceived it, "educational research is shaped by what the federal government is willing to fund,"* and "AERA needs to help define the field."**

In short, Dershimer was trying to get a grasp of the field of educational research, to gain more understanding of what a professional association could do, and determine how AERA might enhance its influence within and beyond educational research.

The translation of these concerns into a plan of action began in late 1966, as a result of discussions between Dershimer and John Goodlad, incoming AERA president. Dershimer had formulated an idea for an AERA Colloquium, which he defined as "a discussion, among equals, of questions of mutual

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*The term used by the executive officer in a phone conversation with me early in 1968.

*Dershimer interview, July 5, 1968.

**Dershimer interview, October 16, 1973

interest, an open discussion but focussed and structured by the papers present."** Goodlad encouraged him to pursue the idea; in fact, Goodlad hoped to combine the idea of a Colloquium with another long-range planning committee, as the Tyler committee had completed its work. Goodlad knew that the Tyler committee had recommended a break from the NAE, and was concerned with the directions in which he as president should move the organization. Goodlad saw the new Planning Committee as doing a study of future actions and directions with the Colloquium serving as a kick-off conference for the study, according to Dershimer (Oct. 16, 1973 interview). From this first conversation, Dershimer and Goodlad envisioned three groups attending the Colloquium: 1) people studying social systems among scientists, including communications researchers who were studying fields of scholarship, 2) leaders in the field of educational research, and 3) AERA leaders, most of whom would be on the Planning Committee.

After the plan was approved by the AERA Council (its governing body), the AERA President and Council appointed the Planning Committee. Dershimer, in turn, commissioned the papers for the Colloquium (how Dershimer commissioned the papers and the nature of those papers will be described in detail in Chapter 2) and invited policy-makers in organizations similar to AERA to attend the Colloquium. Having received the papers, the experts, AERA Planning Committee members and the authors of the papers met in November, 1968 for a two day Colloquium "to examine the findings of the studies, to pinpoint the critical problems in the field, and to make recommendations to the long-range planning committee of AERA."*

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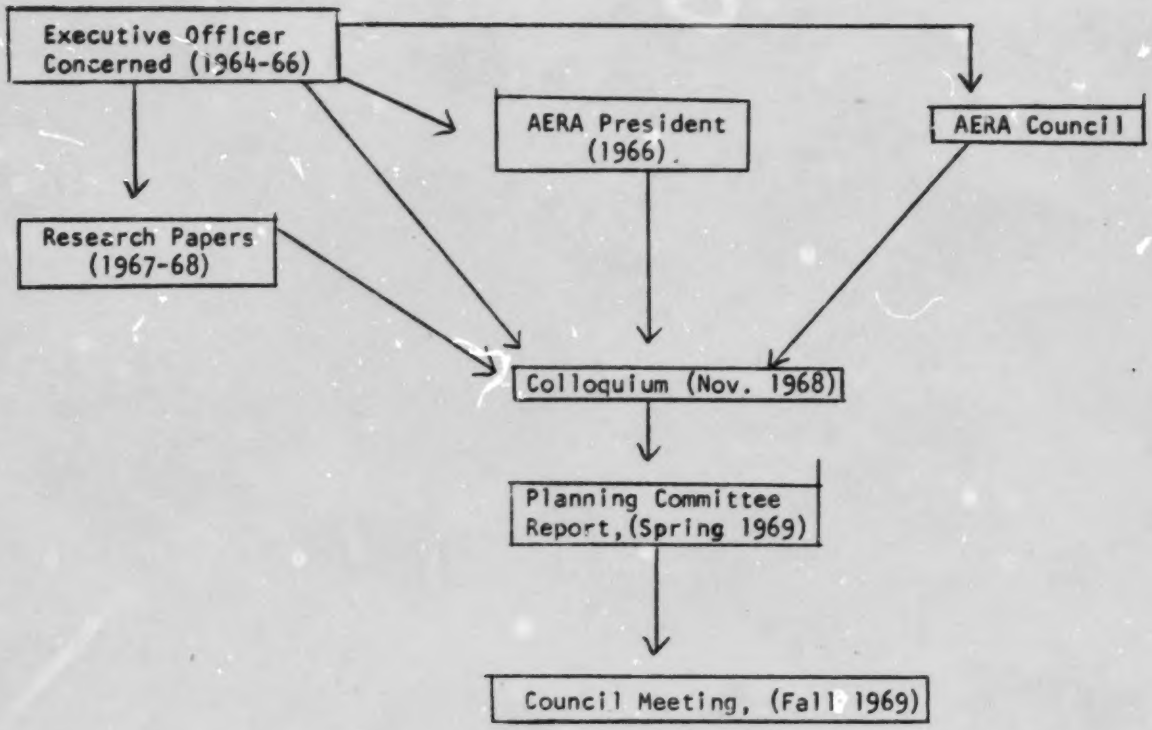
*Dershimer interview, October 16, 1973.

*Forward to "The Educational Research Community: Its Communication and Social Structure" Washington: AERA, 1970, page ii.

After the Colloquium, the Planning Committee met and formulated its policy recommendations for the AERA Council (presented in their Planning Report). The above sequence of events is depicted in Figure 1. The executive officer was clearly a moving force, both in terms of defining the "problem" of AERA and educational research generally as well as in terms of initiating the Colloquium and the papers. He was also the primary spokesman for the Planning Committee recommendations at the Council meeting.

Figure 1

Sequence of Events



Chapter 2

DATA AND PRINCIPAL AGENTS

This chapter describes how Dershimer commissioned the Colloquium papers, the nature of those papers, the other documents and data used in this case study, and the interplay of the agents during the events analyzed.

A. Commissioning the Colloquium Papers

Dershimer had "pretty much of a free hand to plan the Colloquium, and neither the Council nor the Planning Committee was involved in commissioning the studies." (Oct. 16, 1973 interview). He got his ideas about whom to invite from other people he knew. For example, Dershimer knew William Garvey since he had worked down the street at the American Psychological Association (APA), and knew he was doing communication studies. He went to see Garvey at Johns Hopkins and asked him to work with AERA if NSF funded the project. Garvey said he would work with them whether or not AERA's proposal to NSF for the Colloquium was funded. Through personal contacts and mutual interests, Dershimer formed his roster of Colloquium paper-writers. Dershimer described the assembling of the Colloquium as a "process of accretion." When asked what "charge, directions, or questions" he put to the paper writers, Dershimer replied that he did not give them directions about their papers; he as much as told them, "Do your thing." (Oct. 16, 1973 interview). It may be that because Dershimer had found his own reading in the sociology of science though-provoking, he felt that whatever the social scientists might write would be in some way useful to the AERA Planning Committee. It should be stressed that, while Dershimer generally knew what the authors were doing, (each sent a brief abstract) he had in no sense "commissioned" them to consider a particular problem.

B. Nature of the Papers

We can characterize the papers in terms of the major substantive questions they addressed and with regard to whether they were theoretical or

empirical.

1. William D. Garvey, Carnot Nelson and Nan Lin wrote a heavily empirical 32 page paper entitled "A Preliminary Description of Scientific Information Exchange in Educational Research," that dealt with various communication processes within AERA, compared with eight other professional societies. They surveyed paper-givers and attenders of the prior year's AERA annual meeting and also analyzed publication processes and time sequences. Twelve of the 32 pages were tables and figures, and the remaining 20 pages were filled with percentages, means, and other empirical findings. Thus, this paper was very heavily packed with new data that the authors had collected. The paper was mailed in advance to Colloquium participants.

2. William Paisley wrote a 28 page conceptual paper, entitled "The Role of Invisible Colleges." The paper addressed itself to the communications problems of scientific fields by discussing three major concepts: 1) a view of the researcher as being at the center of cultural, political, and social systems; 2) the notion of "horizontal" and "vertical" knowledge transfer in a field, and 3) the concept of "invisible colleges" in fields. These related to a series of policy issues in educational research. His paper was mailed to Colloquium participants prior to the Colloquium.*

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*David Lingwood, one of Paisley's students, wrote an empirical paper, "Interpersonal Communication, Scientific Productivity, and Invisible Colleges" for the Colloquium. At the opening of the Colloquium he announced that his "presentation was completely in error," (Colloquium transcript, page 3) and he handed out a replacement for his last table. However, the paper was not discussed at the Colloquium, nor will I discuss it here.

3. As part of the USOE grant that AERA has applied for and received to fund the Colloquium,** Dershimer asked Ronald G. Corwin and Maynard Seider to conduct a series of lengthy interviews with sociologists of science.*** The sociologists of science were "told that the purpose of the interviews was to obtain their assistance in placing the immediate problems of educational research into a broader, theoretical context," (Corwin paper, page 1). Corwin and Seider report that they

> indicated that the overall objective of the project was to improve the communication and social mechanisms used by researchers to enable them to better engineer the substantive direction and methodologies of the people from various disciplines working in the field. It was noted that although some of the problems outlined were unique in certain respects, perhaps similar problems had been witnessed in other fields of scientific research which might be used as parallels. (Corwin and Seider paper, page 1.)

Corwin and Seider wrote up their analyses of these interviews in a 56 page paper entitled, "Patterns of Educational Research: Reflections on some General Issues." This paper was organized around the major themes of the structure of the field, the quality of educational research, the influence of eminent social scientists on the development of research fields, the relationship between basic and applied science, and control over research policy. They also wrote a 27 page "Overview of 'Patterns of Educational Research'" containing some of the highlights of their longer paper. The overview was mailed in advance to Colloquium participants. The longer paper was distributed at the beginning of the Colloquium.*

**After the NSF proposal was not funded.

***The strategy for that study was initially developed by Sam D. Sieber and myself when we were at the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University. When Sieber found that he had to be out of the country for a year the study was conducted by Corwin and Seider.

*For further work of Corwin's in this area, see Corwin and Saad Z. Nagi, "The Case of Educational Research", chapter 12 of Nagi and Corwin (eds.), The Social Contexts of Research, New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1972.

4. Warren O. Hagstrom prepared a 19 page paper entitled, "Educational Researchers, Social Scientists, and School Professionals." His paper was based on secondary analysis of data from Ralph E. Dunham, et.al., Teaching Faculty in Universities and Four-Year Colleges: Spring 1963 (Washington: U.S. Office of Education, OE 53022-63, 1966). In his paper Hagstrom considered some of the differences between social scientists and educational researchers, specifically in terms of their social backgrounds, university activities, typical relationships to practitioners and their ideological stances. He discussed how these differences inhibit the flow of ideas and people between the fields and reduce the chance of cooperation between them. Finally, he pointed out some of the dilemmas leaders of scientific societies must face if they act to improve the situation. The six dilemmas he noted were:

1) boundary maintenance: inclusive or exclusive?

2) internal differentiation: disciplines or problems?

3) getting social scientists involved in educational research: immigrants or home-grown products?

4) images of the practitioner: product retailer or product innovator?

5) making decisions about the allocation of research funds: disciplinary panels or practitioner power?

6) social criticism or institutional defense?

Hagstrom read his paper to the Colloquium participants on the first day because it was not distributed in advance.

5. Norman W. Storer wrote a 29 page conceptual paper, entitled "The Organization and Differentiation of the Scientific Community: Basic Disciplines, Applied Research, and Conjunctive Domains." In it he developed a general picture of the social enterprise that is science, including its epistemological status and its organizational structures, with a discussion of how the reward system functions. Then he defined "conjunctive domains," i.e., groupings of research according to their relevance to broad social

concerns, giving medical, agricultural and educational research as examples of conjunctive domains. Finally, he discussed what he saw as the most appropriate and effective modes of relating basic and applied interests within conjunctive domains, bearing in mind the relative hardness or softness of those fields and their implications for social organization. (Storer paper, page 1.)* Storer's paper was distributed in advance to Colloquium participants.

It is possible to classify these papers according to their primary substance (based on content analysis) and their theoretical or empirical nature (Figure 2). By doing this, one major feature of the papers becomes apparent. There are only two empirical papers, Garvey's and, to some degree, Hagstrom's. When asked about this (Oct. 16, 1973 interview), Dershimer indicated that he was willing to take a theoretical paper and translate it into policy. But, as shown in the analysis in Chapter 3, the Planning Committee seems to have been more impressed and influenced by data, in most instances, than they were by theory.

C. Other Data

Five other sources of data were used in this case study: a verbatim transcript of the Colloquium, the Planning Committee's written report, interviews with Planning Committee members, conversations and interviews with the AERA executive officer, and observations of the 1969 AERA Council and Executive Board meetings. Each of these is briefly described below.

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*Slightly edited versions of the Garvey, Paisley, Corwin, Hagstrom and Storer papers were photo-offset and distributed by AERA in a volume entitled, "The Educational Research Community: Its Communication and Social Structure," Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association, April, 1970. Abbreviated versions of Paisley's and Storer's papers have appeared in the Educational Researcher, a bi-monthly publication of AERA.

Figure 2

Classification of Colloquium Papers
By Substance and Type

Major Substantive Issues Addressed in Papers:	Type of Paper: THEORETICAL	EMPIRICAL
Communication System	Paisley	Garvey, Nelson and Lin
Reward System	Storer Hagstrom	
Quality of Research	Corwin	
"Political" Influence of AERA	Corwin	
Nature of Educational Research Community	Corwin	(Hagstrom)*

*Some empirical material, but secondary, not collected specifically for the problems AERA faced.

1. Verbatim Transcript of the Colloquium

This 333 page typewritten document is a transcription of the Colloquium produced by the Alderson Reporting Company. The record includes asides, interruptions, and parenthetical comments, e.g., laughter. Everyone's remarks are identified by name.

2. The Long-Range Planning Committee Report

This document is a 24 page typed report. It is titled:

'Directions for the American Educational Research Association: Report of the Long-Range Planning Committee (Draft)'

The fact that this report is labeled "Draft"* and that it has the appearance of a draft, albeit a neat one, had several consequences. First, I kept trying to get the "final version," which doesn't exist. Second, the AERA Council, which had to act on this report, was very hesitant to do so, because they did not consider it to be a final version, and they did not want to take definitive action on a draft. Finally, we may speculate that the Planning Committee may have felt better about making recommendations in a "draft" form than in a final form.

3. Interviews with AERA Planning Committee Members

These interviews were conducted by me at the February, 1970 AERA Annual Meeting in Minneapolis, Minnesota or by telephone during that same month. I had a series of openended questions which I asked everyone (See Appendix for a copy of my interview outline). I encouraged full discussion and free association on their part, and took abbreviated verbatim written notes on their replies. I interviewed all the committee members except the

*It appears to me that this report remained in "draft" form for two reasons. First, the Planning Committee chairman seems to have run out of time that he could devote to AERA business. Second, as far as he was concerned, the report was finished, but since the Committee had not formally approved it as final, and since they had no further meetings scheduled in which they could approve it, he did not want to declare it a final report himself.

chairman, John Goodland, who was out of the country at the time, and E.Z. Rothkopt, who said he did not attend the Colloquium or the Planning Meetings.

4. Personal Conversations with the Executive Officer (Dershimer of AERA)

These Colloquium-related conversations began in February 1968, when Dershimer called Sam Sieber and me about his proposal for the Colloquium, and have continued until the present. He gave me permission to use freely all the documentary, interview, and observational data I gathered.

5. Observations of 1969 AERA Executive Board and Council Meetings

I sat in on the 1969 Executive and Council Meetings of AERA as part of an evaluation for USOE on the impact of the Colloquium on AERA policy-making. During those meetings, I taped the proceedings, with the participants' permission, and then had a typed transcript of the tapes prepared. This information bears principally on the decision to implement policy recommendations made by the Planning Committee. Implementation is discussed briefly in Chapter 4 of this report.

D. Interplay of Principal Agents at the Colloquium

The principal agents at the Colloquium are depicted in Figure 3. There are five major groups: the executive officer (Dershimer), the paper-givers, the invited experts who were not presenting papers, AERA Planning Committee members, and other AERA members. Dershimer had invited the paper givers and experts; the AERA Council and president had appointed the AERA representatives.

Two aspects of the verbal exchange are relevant: the relative frequency with which each group spoke and the direction of the exchanges between groups.

The paper authors spoke the most frequently, followed by the experts, with the AERA Planning Committee and Council members generally saying the least. There are at least two possible interpretations of this observation. First, the paper-givers may have spoken the most frequently because they

saw that as their role in the Colloquium, with the "experts" perceiving their role as commentators, and the AERA participants seeing their role as listeners. It is also possible that the AERA participants may have said little because they felt alienated from the Colloquium. It is difficult to support one rather than the other of these interpretations on the basis of the Colloquium transcript. However, in my interview with one of the Planning Committee members, he indicated that the Colloquium was "not relevant enough to the concerns of the Planning Committee." He thought it was "kind of a forced marriage." Perhaps this member may have said less because he felt uninvolved, but no other Planning Committee members indicated such a negative reaction to the Colloquium to me. Therefore, the reason for the less frequent participation by AERA members of the Colloquium is still unclear.

Not only did the paper-givers speak more frequently, but they initiated much of the discussion (within the general outline of the questions raised by Dershimer at the Colloquium). Their initiation is reflected in the uni-directional arrows in Figure 3.

The major exceptions to both frequency and direction of participation were Bidwell and Marcson. I think it is significant that both are trained and practicing sociologists. Thus, they were familiar with the concepts and the type of data presented by the paper-givers. They were the two individuals among the experts and the Planning Committee who most frequently exchanged substantive comments with the paper-givers, as revealed in the Colloquium transcript. They much more frequently conducted discussions with paper-givers than did other members of the group. This interchange is reflected in the double-headed arrows between Bidwell and the paper-givers and between Marcson and the paper-givers in Figure 3.

Observing all the arrows that impinge on the Planning Committee in Figure 3 suggests that the focus of the Colloquium was influenced more by the concerns of the paper-givers and the experts than by AERA participants. Aside from how they perceived their roles in the Colloquium, it may have been easier for the "visitors" to speak frequently because they did not have any policy investment in the AERA. The lack of policy investment may also explain why there was no author at the Colloquium who took a strong advocate role and very strongly urged AERA to adopt a particular course of action.

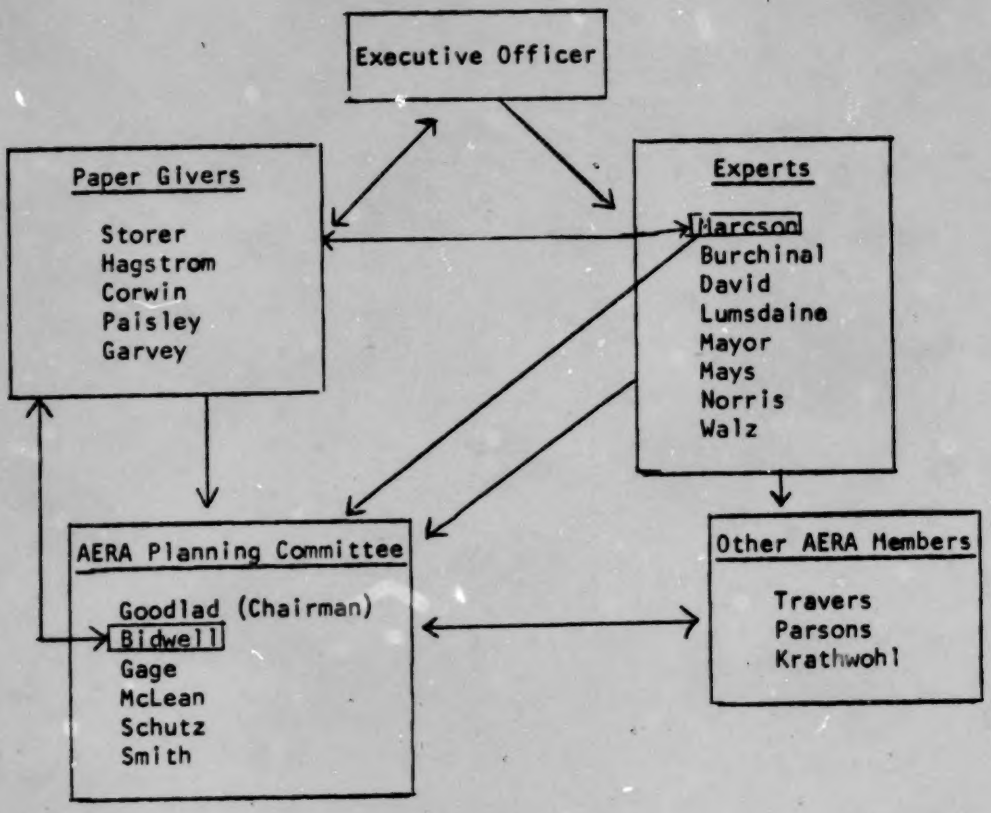
One strong change in direction occurred in the Colloquium at Dershimer's initiative. He had planned that three fourths of the two day Colloquium would be relatively unstructured discussion flowing from the papers presented, with the last half day devoted to the consideration of some "concrete alternative" models of ways in which AERA might develop. (Colloquium transcript, page 269.) He deliberately did not circulate those alternatives ahead of time to Colloquium participants, feeling that he did not want to pre-structure their discussion too much at the outset. Also he wanted to be able to draw on the papers as he formulated the alternatives, and the papers were available only a week or two prior to the Colloquium.

Ironically, by the time the Colloquium discussion turned most specifically to directions and actions AERA might take, the AERA President and Planning Committee members had already left to catch their planes.

The above interplay among the principal agents at the Colloquium may well have had consequences for how social science was and was not used subsequently by the Planning Committee. It is to a consideration of this issue that we now turn.

Figure 3

Map of Principal Agents at Colloquium



Chapter 3

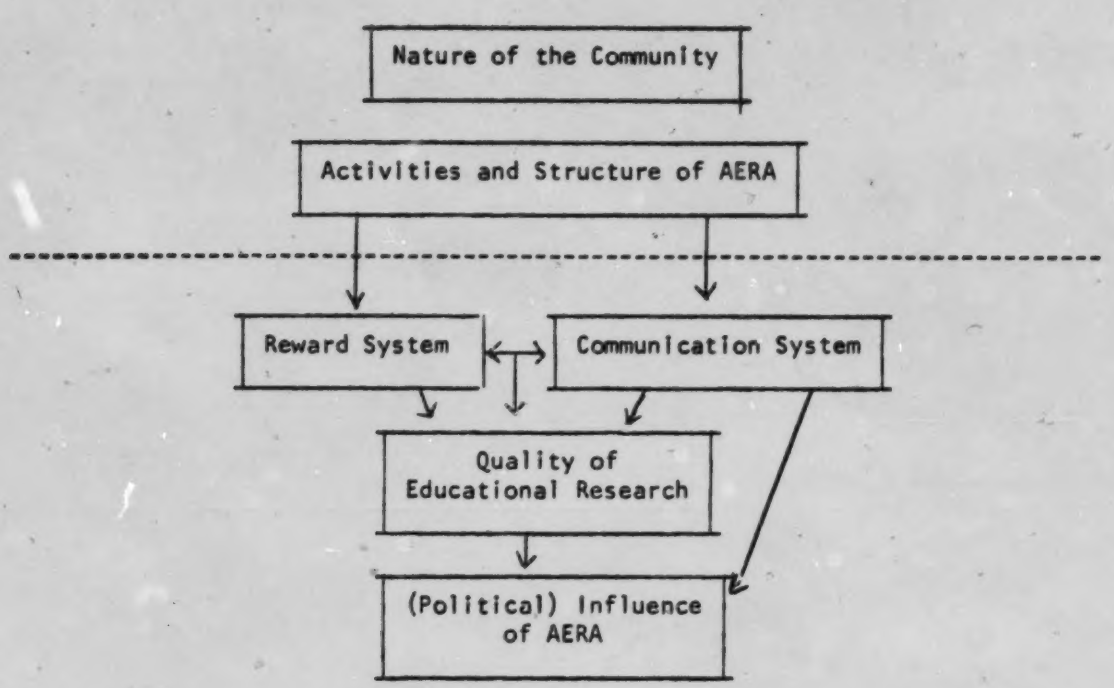
ANALYSIS OF HOW SOCIOLOGY WAS UTILIZED BY THE PLANNING COMMITTEE IN MAKING POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter describes and analyzes how social science was used by the AERA planners as they formulated recommendations about several key problems faced by the association. The term the utilization of sociology here refers to three different forms this utilization may have taken. First, sociological theory or conceptual orientations may have been brought to bear on a policy problem. Second, empirical data collected with social science techniques may have been used by policy makers. Finally, in some instances sociologists acted as policy makers. These three forms of sociological "influence" on policy should be kept distinct conceptually, even if they are not always distinct in practice. As I proceed, I will try to specify how these three forms of sociological input were manifest in policy recommendations.

Figure 2 in the last chapter showed a number of the major substantive issues treated in the papers prepared for the Colloquium. Figure 4 organizes these issues into an analytic framework which makes explicit the implied relationships among the concepts. Discussion will focus on the four problems below the broken line in Figure 4, since they were considered in the papers, the Colloquium discussion and addressed in Planning Committee recommendations. The nature of the educational research community was examined in several papers, discussed at the Colloquium, and considered a great length by a sub-committee of the Planning Committee (reported in my 1970 interview with a Planning Committee member).

Figure 4

Assumed Relationships Among Concepts Examined in Colloquium Papers



However, because the Planning Committee could not resolve a number of key questions (such as who are developers, and what they do) they did not make any recommendations directly treating that subject. Therefore, we will not consider it here.

The analysis of how social science was utilized by AERA policy-makers is organized around the problems of 1) the reward system of a field, 2) the communication system of a field, 3) the quality of research in the field, and 4) the influence of a professional association on its field and on the principal outside agents that influence that field.

A. The Reward System

The nature of the reward system (RS) in a scientific field and its importance for stimulating quality research was a recurrent theme in the papers and in the Colloquium.* For example, the importance of the reward system is emphasized in Hagstrom's paper:

> Related... is control over symbolic rewards. Election to high office and the award of a prize for excellent research signifies not only appreciation for the work of an individual but confers importance on the kind of work he does. (Hagstrom paper, p. 10.)

Hagstrom's statement begins to specify how sociologists see the reward system as furthering good research. Specifically, symbolic rewards serve to hold up some research as exemplary, while ignoring other work.

Storer's paper presents further specification of how sociologists see rewards operating to enhance quality research. Storer notes:

> Why the scientist should want professional recognition is a question that has not been fully resolved. There are two major hypotheses at present which attempt to explain this. First, there is the proposal that the scientist is trained to want recognition because it certifies that he has satisfied the demanding requirements of his role: he has advanced our knowledge of some aspect of reality. A complementary hypothesis, thus far espoused only by myself so far as I know, contends that the desire to create, to produce 'meaningful novelty,' is a basic human need and that the act of creation is not complete without the receipt of competent response to it from others. (Storer paper, p. 7.)

Either of these interpretations could provide the basis for Corwin's assertion about the importance of the reward system for social control in science:

> Social control in pure science rests upon the exchange of new scientific information for recognition (Corwin paper, p. 42).

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*The importance of an effective reward system was mentioned at least eight times in the research papers and on at least eleven separate occasions during the Colloquium.

Corwin's statement is predicated on the assumption that researchers do seek recognition, either for one of the reasons noted by Storer or for some other reason. Therefore, it is the desire for recognition that fuels the scientific drive to contribute new information. The possibility of social control arises because recognition can be given or withheld, thereby presumably affecting a researcher's desire to do further work. The importance for a professional association like AERA, as Corwin notes,

> depends upon whether or not the association has been able to provide a substitute reward system. (Corwin paper, p. 42.)

This observation is important to AERA for two reasons. First, if AERA could not provide a substitute reward system, researchers, particularly in the behavioral sciences (whom AERA especially wanted to recruit), would be unlikely to join the association. Second, if a substitute reward system were not working, then recognition, or the lack of it, through AERA could do nothing to change the researchers' motivation. Hence, the basic payoff of the reward system (of encouraging good researchers and discouraging poor ones) would be lost.

Later in his paper Corwin discusses another aspect of the reward system:

> Whether or not a social scientist wishes to join a professional association identified with a particular field of research depends upon whether the association is somehow linked to the professional association representing the researcher's primary discipline. (Corwin paper, p. 42.)

This clearly indicates the importance of rewards for not just the field of educational research but for AERA as well. One of AERA's concerns (mentioned in both the Colloquium and the Planning Report) was recruiting behavioral scientists who were doing research on education, with the thought being that they would raise the quality of research in education and (at least indirectly) increase the political influence of AERA.

This point by Corwin, in conjunction with the others above, gives a strong conceptual and empirical rationale for why the Planning Committee should consider (a) the operation of the RS and (b) how a professional association like AERA might influence its operation. I stress this because I think in this instance sociology served to introduce a relatively new concept to some members of the Planning Committee.

At the Colloquium most of the discussion focused on the various types of rewards that do or could exist and upon the question of whether or not the reward system can be manipulated by a professional association. These two issues suggest that the speakers had already agreed upon the importance of the concept. It remained for the policy makers to decide whether the association can manipulate the system, and if so, how they can do so with the fewest negative consequences.

The papers and Colloquium considered the question of the various kinds of rewards that were or could be operating in educational research in addition to professional recognition. In reporting on his and Seider's interviews, Corwin noted:

> Clark distinguished between the professional incentives --such as the granting arrangements, research institutional support and the like permitting researchers to make basic research contributions to their discipline at the same time as they are focusing on educational institutions -- and the personal values of the researcher, such as the concern for the poor quality of many American institutions of primary, secondary and higher education. Crane also stressed the more mercenary incentives. Her comments, however, suggest that schools of education not only fail to control the scientific rewards, but that they are in the unfortunate situation of being without control over the kinds of rewards which industry has utilized so effectively. (Corwin paper, p. 19.)

Implicit in this discussion is the assumption that some researchers are motivated to pursue their careers because of intellectual curiosity and because of the recognition they gain for their intellectual contributions. However, for careers that may not maximize this type of reward, other rewards should be available, in order to recruit good people into the field. Among

these are facilitative arrangements for research, monetary rewards, and a sense of being influential. Corwin discusses the notion of influence further, in reference to recruiting social scientists into schools of education:

> One of the most important incentives which colleges of education could provide is the opportunity for the social scientist to exert an influence on education. For, while influence presumably is not an instrumental component of the reward system of science per se (Storer, 1966), it does seem to be an important objective of many scientists and impressionistically at least, there is a suspiciously high correlation between prestige of scientists and their positions on influential national committees.

Here Corwin is advancing an insight by analogy. He has observed pretigious scientists on national committees. Apparently, he has asked himself, "how do you get scientists to do that type of thing?". The conjecture he offers is that they are willing to forego scientific recognition if they can feel they can have an impact on policy. But the situation for social scientists approaching education is a far cry from what Corwin sees as the natural scientist's situation. Ironically, social scientists often find their ideas ignored and their suggestions rebuffed by the very people in schools of education who sought them out. Perhaps social scientists would find colleges of education more attractive if they were given assurance that they would have real authority in such settings. Thus, Corwin is speculating that if social scientists felt they had more influence over the conduct of education, they might be more willing to work in schools of education.

On a more general level, Corwin's idea emphasized the view that educational research does not have a monolithic reward system, and yet the diversity of rewards was not paritcularly apparent in the Planning Committee recommendation that attempted to address this problem. This limitation may have affected how the recommendation was received by the AERA council. Before turning to that question about rewards that the social scientists considered.

Fairly early in the Colloquium, participants raised the question of whether the RS can be manipulated by a professional association in the field. The question of whether the RS can be altered was first posed by Bidwell:

> ....I wonder if the problem that we confront is not one of attempting to determine the extent to which either through natural evolution of the field, or through more active intervention, this reward structure can be altered, either in its nature and its location, in the development of gatekeepers and so on, and of a normative system inside education which will, in fact, provide the inducements to bring about the kind of coherent structure that we seem to be talking about. (Bidwell, Colloquium, p. 57.)

Clearly he has no difficulty accepting the importance of the RS, but is wondering how manipulable that variable is. Colloquium participants differed in their views of how effectively AERA could intervene. Storer's view was that:

> AERA does not itself bestow rewards. It simply facilitates the flow of these rewards from the community of people that the researcher feels is his audience. (Storer, Colloquium, page 148.)

He sees AERA's role as facilitating rewards, through such vehicles as publications, rather than bestowing rewards. This perception is quite consistent with Storer's knowledge of science, where only esteemed colleagues are considered sources of competent response.

Lin, however, saw the association as being able to play a somewhat more active role in the process:

> I think AERA can help us manipulate the reward structure in this sense to bring a new emerging force into the field. I think it is very likely that it can be done. (Nan Lin, Colloquium, page 58.)

One means for doing this, in his view, is by starting new, refereed journals.

After all of this discussion, the Planning Committee Report contained the following recommendation:

RECOMMENDATION 5: The Committee recommends that there be established as soon as possible, a special membership category, Fellow of the American Educational Research Association. (Report, p. 9.)

Immediately following this recommendation, the report presented some of the background to it:

> This recommendation emerged out of lengthy discussion and was formulated with some difficulty. Individual committee members, after advocating the creation of a Fellow category, often turned to a devil's advocate role, seeking to find reasons for rejecting the proposal. Each return to the negative side of the proposal seemed to strengthen it, however, until the conclusion to recommend finally was reached. (Report, page 9.)

After indicating the careful deliberation that had preceded the recommendation, Goodlad (the committee chairman and actual drafter of the report) made a parenthetical remark to other committee members and AERA Council members receiving the draft copy of the report:

> (Note to Committee members and Association Council: succeeding pages present a rationale for the Fellows membership category prepared by one member of the Committee and subsequently revised by me in the light of feedback from some Committee members. This statement should not be considered final. Its author has not yet approved the present version and feedback from the Committee is not yet complete.) (Report, page 9.)

This first paragraph of the rationale describes what two other behavioral science associations (psychology and sociology) do in the way of membership categories to recognize scholarly excellence. The second paragraph indicates how AERA lacks such membership distinctions. The rationale continues with a discussion of the problems faced by educational research:

> The broad field of educational research lacks a coherent sense of colleagueship, widely accepted standards of scholarly excellence, and potent incentives for maintaining such standards. In short, the educational research community at present does not adequately facilitate the work of its members, maintain standards of scholarly performance, or prevent the allegiance of educational researchers from being dissipated among other, better established disciplines... (Report, page 9.)

The report views the present educational research community as diffuse and lacking in incentives for scholarly excellence. The rationale concludes with an argument for how the Fellows recommendation will remedy the situation:

> First, it will define the image of the AERA as an association of scholars and researchers rather than of educational practitioners. This definition is important not so much for our 'public' image, as for the character attributed to AERA by researchers in the several disciplines (political science, economics, biology, and the like), who have a serious interest in educational problems. The Association will become more attractive to educational researchers in other fields if exemplars of educational research are visible -- especially if the Fellows include persons working outside such traditional 'core' areas of AERA as educational psychology and measurement. Second, Fellow status will significantly augment and strengthen the system of incentives for work of high quality in educational scholarship. Publication by educational researchers presently is spread among some 78 journals. Educational researchers are scattered among many disciplines. This dispersion places severe constraints on quality control and proper evaluation of research activity.... Fellow status in AERA signalizes and personalizes the definition of good and significant educational research. Elsewhere, this Report recommends that the Association enlist as members scholars of diverse disciplinary background but interested in educational research. If this recommendation is followed, it will be essential to provide some generally accepted criteria of scholarly excellence and prestige. (Planning Report, pp. 9-10.)

This rationale concludes with the assertion that the Fellows category of membership in AERA would enhance the prestige and reputation of the Association, so that membership would be more rewarding, especially to researchers in the behavioral sciences.

Going beyond the rationale, in what ways does this argument illustrate the penetration of sociological ideas into the decision-making process? First, this recommendation reveals that the Committee knows about the concept of the RS. Further, their recommendation suggests that they have accepted the importance of that concept for recruiting and motivating good researchers. One Colloquium

member (Bidwell) indicated in an interview that he thought the Colloquium's discussion of the RS had been helpful for some members of the Planning Committee. Thus, the social science perspective may have raised certain questions, or considered a particular set of concepts as relevant and important for a particular problem. This interpretation is consistent with what another Committee member (Schutz) reported in an interview. He said the Colloquium "may have converged some of (our) thinking. It's a question of finding a framework for salient issues. It saves a lot of time." So the sociologists may have presented a conceptual framework with which to consider a particular phenomenon. Third, this recommendation assumes that AERA can influence the operation of the RS with positive consequences. Thus, it would appear that the policy-makers accepted the assertions of Garvey, Nelson, Lin and other social scientists at the Colloquium that AERA could positively influence the RS.

Assuming that social scientists provide a conceptual framework, stressed the importance of that framework, and provided a basis for believing in the efficacy of intervention, is there any evidence to suggest that sociology was utilized in the determination of the form that intervention should take? An organization may influence the operation of the research system through indirect and direct means. Thus, as Storer noted, an association can facilitate the circulation of recognition and rewards among its members indirectly through the communications mechanisms it provides. Awarding prizes or honors is a more direct way of manipulation rewards. Clearly the Planning Committee's Fellows recommendation is a rather general instance of the latter.

Within the formal RS, how did AERA decide on the particular means embodied in this recommendation? The specific proposal made was the brainchild of two Planning Committee members. Bidwell reported in an interview that "McLean and I dreamed it up over dinner (one night after a Planning

Committee meeting)." Bidwell is himself a sociologist, although not specifically a sociologist of science, so here is a case of a sociologist serving on the Planning Committee and making policy recommendations. We might conclude from this that his sociological sensitivity and interests influenced both the general and the specific content of the recommendation.

One important aspect of the reward system discussed at the Colloquium does not appear in this recommendation. Specifically, there is no mention of the possibility of diverse rewards that would in some way reflect the variety of goals pursued by AERA members. This omission may explain in part why one Planning Committee member reported That the Fellows recommendation was the idea that was "most reluctantly accepted by the Planning Committee." (McLean Interview.) It wasn't just the Planning Committee that was reluctant about the Fellows proposal. The executive officer of AERA described it as one of the "stickiest wickets" in the whole report. He said that Council might want to refer the idea to a committee. One member of the Council said, "We discussed the Fellows in the June Council (meeting). I still feel the same way. I want to know the Committee's rationale." This same member felt that the Fellows recommendations aimed AERA's priorities completely at scholars. Another Council member suggested that the Council might want to get a much broader reaction from the whole AERA membership on the idea of Fellows. Also, he felt they needed more information about the costs of such a plan. (He seemed to mean both financial and organizational costs.) He felt that the implications of such a suggestion needed to be probed. The Council was clearly not prepared to take action on this recommendation at the December 1969 meeting. They felt they should wait to see what the By-Laws Committee recommended about membership, before they decided on this recommendation. This reaction on the part of AERA's Council may reflect the failure of the Planning Committee to recognize the existence of other constituents in AERA besides scholars, and hence, to provide some diversity in the rewards that

were offered.

The fact that the AERA Council did not endorse the Fellows proposal might be explained by one of two different "theories of organizational conflict." First, what might be termed the "faulty communications theory of conflict," would argue that if Council members were familiar with the concept of reward system, were convinced of its importance and believed AERA could successfully intervene in the proposed way, then they would have accepted the proposal. On the other hand, the "opposing interests" theory would maintain that even complete knowledge of the research system would not persuade reluctant Council members to accept the Fellows proposal, because they, as "educational developers" had interests basically different from the interests of scholars which would be served by the proposal.

B. The Communication System

AERA's interest in the communication system (CS) rested upon the assumption that the CS facilitated the functioning of the reward system, influenced the quality of research and thus perhaps indirectly increased the political influence of AERA (See Figure 4). In colloquium discussions, the concept of the CS was a very general one, encompassing at least two major aspects, namely, internal communication and external communication. By internal communication was meant problems within the field of educational research such as the organization, composition, and knowledge transmission functions of the annual meeting, e.g., how much chance is there to meet colleagues interested in similar problems, or how many people who hear a paper knew in advance that the author was working on that problem? Also considered to be problems of internal communication were publication patterns of educational researchers, and the substance and standards of journals in the field, especially those published by AERA. Problems of external communication included relations with the behavioral sciences, especially how AERA could get more behavioral scientists as members

through appealing publication outlets. A prime problem of external communication was the question of influencing general research policies of funding agents. As noted in Chapter), this last concern was a major factor in stimulating Dershimer to call the Colloquium. It is noteworthy that what was originally a central concern became less important in the Colloquium discussions, perhaps because there were no data commissioned on the subject. Thus, we may surmise that when a "client" fails to commission research on a subject, that topic may get buried beneath available data on another subject.

The internal communications structure was the single most discussed problem in the papers, the Colloquium and the Planning Report. Two commissioned papers were devoted very specifically to the topic (Garvey's and Paisley's) and other papers noted the importance of communications for the functioning of the reward system and for enhancing research quality. In the Colloquium alone, internal communications received at least 25 independent mentions. Discussions of internal communication centered primarily upon (1) the AERA Annual Meeting and (2) AERA publications.

1. The Annual Meeting

Both Paisley and Garvey felt that the AERA annual meeting was not as effective as it might be in facilitating communication among members: "In comparison with the potential impact of a scientific meeting on its field, we are really limping along on one out of eight possible cylinders." (Paisley, Colloquium, page 158.) Paisley's view of the inefficiency of the AERA annual meeting is based on his general impressions of the association in combination with the concept of "invisible colleges" which he brought from the work of Derek Price (1963) and Diana Crane (196 , 1972).

Garvey's feeling that the AERA annual meeting could be improved arose from his empirical study of the 1969 AERA meeting, which he compared with data he had on eight other professional associations. Garvey, Nelson

and Lin found, for example, that only ten percent of people attending a paper presentation at AERA were acquainted with any of the author's previous work and only 20 percent had any previous knowledge of the content of presentations (for example, 12 percent had read the abstract of a paper before attending the presentation, Garvey, Nelson, Lin paper, p. 17). On these measures, educational research was lower than any of the other fields studied (Garvey, Colloquium, p. 188). From this Garvey concludes: "There is something lacking in the whole network, prior to the meeting." (Garvey, Colloquium, p. 188.)

From their perspectives, Paisley and Garvey make several specific recommendations about how AERA could improve its annual meeting. Paisley thinks that the "invisible colleges" could be utilized to create a much more dynamic annual meeting:

> The irony is that the invisible college is a great untapped resource. The best people in the field are sitting on data developments, ideas and enthusiasms that they chiefly disseminate among themselves; whereas, at the annual meeting where so much of the society's image is perpetuated year after year, the sessions are given over to the least interesting and least competent material. (Paisley, Colloquium, p. 159).
>
> What seems to me a logical extension of the best pattern of invisible college interchange is an annual meeting organized around invisible colleges as a fair organized around special buildings. Various associations have chosen to scrap divisional structures in favor of 'special interest groups,' which is the name invisible colleges sometimes give themselves when they come out into the open. These associations have, in some cases, taken the additional step of allocating convention time to the SIG's just as APA and AERA now allocate time to divisions. (Paisley paper, p. 26.)
>
> Instead of that kind of marketplace of ideas, I think the professional meeting might be more nearly a tutorial session, a five-day tutorial session instead of a one-day presentation in which the invisible colleges say their piece for the year.

Thus, by organizing annual meetings around the interests of invisible colleges, Paisley thinks that the best data developments and ideas would be presented to the meeting attenders in general, rather than just to other members of a particular invisible college. He goes on to cite as evidence for this argument the interest in APA symposia:

> Consider....the relative popularity of an APA symposium which has been mounted by really first-rate people in the field, versus a typical APA session, and a typical APA session is a session that has imposed a fairly high level of screening on the papers that it accepts, but even within that narrowing of difference, the symposia are....of so much more value, because they do represent platforms for invisible colleges.

Paisley notes that tendencies in AERA lend themselves to further movement in the direction he proposes.

> The emergence of special interest groups in AERA seems to be a natural opportunity to transform the convention from a laissez faire marketplace of ideas to a set of exposure experiences that is programmed to achieve a certain goal for educational research, even if you have to feel that you are being somewhat manipulative as you are doing it. (Paisley, Colloquium, p. 160.)

Paisley's recommendations are based on the assumption that "invisible colleges" actually exist in educational research. Further, he believes that deliberate efforts should be made to design the annual meeting to conform to the structure of "invisible colleges."

Garvey's recommendations, on the other hand, are based on his empirical data, are much smaller in scope and are relatively independent of the structure of the annual meeting. For example,

> ....one of the first things I would do is publish abstracts, prior to the meeting. (Garvey, Colloquium, p. 187.)

He thinks that publishing abstracts prior to the meeting would provide the chance for more people to become familiar with the content of the papers before attending the meeting. This is an example of a recommendation coming from a social scientist's very concrete empirical finding. It is designed to rectify a deficiency in communication behavior that he observed.

These examples show that social scientists made recommendations to policy makers either based on the <u>conceptual framework</u> they brought to the problem or by drawing on their own empirical study of the problem.

While the social scientists addressed themselves quite directly and specifically to the problem of improving the annual meeting, the Planning Committee did not respond as directly or specifically. They recommended:

> That the Annual Meeting increasingly be directed to advancing the field of educational research through the presentation of exemplar reports as (SIC) truly significant research underway, critical analysis of research developments in the various sub-fields, symposia on frontier developments, and cross-discipline progress reports on efforts designed to advance knowledge about critical social-educational problems. (Planning Report, p. 21.)

It is hard to see how this recommendation differs from what everyone hoped the annual meeting was doing anyway. In other words, it is more an expression of vague sentiment than a call for any changes in structure or practice

The Planning Report contains only one recommendation that can be seen as suggesting a change in AERA procedure:

> The Committee urges continued analysis of all meetings, research of the kind recently instituted. (Planning Report, p. 22.)

By this they meant empirical studies like those of Garvey, Nelson and Lin which described the actual knowledge and behavior of attenders and paper givers at AERA meetings. This recommendation suggests that they felt Garvey's data had value, even though it is hard to see a direct effect from Garvey's data with respect to the annual meeting. Several Planning Committee members (Bidwell, Gage) felt that this recommendation was a direct result of Garvey's paper and the Colloquium, although one member felt that AERA was committed to analyzing the meetings before the Colloquium occurred. We can only speculate about how they thought it resulted from the Colloquium. One possibility is that because Garvey's paper (as noted in Figure 2) was the only one with substantial original empirical data in it, it stood out from the others and made AERA planners feel they had new information about AERA.

Besides contrasting with the more theoretical papers, Garvey's paper reported what may have been quite surprising findings. For example, the degree to which AERA members, compared to members of other professional associations, were not aware of work of interest to them being done by other researchers may have dramatized AERA's communications problems for planners and, thereby, convinced them that they should not be so unaware of what was happening in their own association.

It may have been this view that underlay Bidwell's comment that he felt more data were needed before decisions could be made about the frequency and structure of annual meetings (interview, 2/70). He did not say what kind of data would be useful. It may also be the case that AERA planners who are themselves empirical researchers find a certain comfort and joy in data. They may feel that data has intrinsic value even if this value is not always reflected in policy recommendations.

2. Publications

While the Planning Report contained few specific recommendations about the annual meeting, that was not the case with respect to AERA publications. At the time of the Colloquium, AERA had three publications: The American Educational Research Journal (AERJ), a selective quarterly journal publishing fairly lengthy original research articles on education; the quarterly Review of Educational Research (RER) which published review articles on common topics; and the Educational Researcher (ER) a bi-monthly newsletter of the Association. All AERA members receive all three publications, and non-members can subscribe to the journals.

The Colloquium discussion about AERA journals focused around three problems included in Figure 4. First, it addressed the problem of facilitating communication among educational researchers. Second, the Colloquium considered the question of how AERA could use its journals to be more inclusive of the educational research community (part of the problem of defining

the nature of the educational research community), and discussion centered on how AERA could use its publications to relate better to a larger "audience" (related to the problem of AERA's political influence).

One way to facilitate communication is to help researchers keep up with the literature. As one AERA member noted, "It has been recommended that we expand AERJ markedly, so we don't have to scan 18 journals as we now do." (Krathwohl, Colloquium, p. 177.)

Colloquium participants were quite concerned with how the AERA publications would help keep researchers abreast of current work, and they made a number of specific suggestions addressing that problem. For example,

> What would happen if you took the journal as it is, and then just added in a page citing...things that have appeared elsewhere recently? Which would then make you at least the bibliographical source, and might draw more people to you, to AERJ. That would be an interim step. (Storer, Colloquium, p. 178.)

Garvey also had two specific suggestions.

> I would like to see the journals publish manuscripts received....(that is, titles) authors and addresses, in order to get back farther. There is a long period of 14 months, as I mentioned in the article, in which nothing really happens here, and that is really a very dead spot in this particular system. (Garvey, Colloquium, p. 190.)

This suggestion is designed to expedite the time between completion of an article and its utilization. This recommendation was based on his knowledge that researchers working in an area write to authors of completed manuscripts. Here, again, he is using empirical data (having measured the time lag between various steps in research and publication) he collected to formulate a suggestion.

Similarly he notes:

> A large portion -- and I think it is 60 percent -- of the authors of articles have already started new work derived from the work that is in the process of being published, and that has reached the report state before his article is published. It seems to me that something could be done here, simply maybe a footnote, saying the author has currently about finished his piece of research derived from this, in which he is manipulating variable x and measuring variable y just enough to tie this in, rather than

wait another 18 months. (Garvey, Colloquium, p. 191.)

Again, his knowledge that authors of published articles have often finished a report on a subsequent piece of research led him to recommend a practice that would reduce the time lag in disseminating knowledge about that work.

Both the problem of keeping up with relevant literature and the time lag between completed and published research were addressed by the Planning Committee's recommendation that the Divisions of the Association be encouraged to experiment with quick, informal means of serving members such as distributing prepublication copies of articles, reprints of tables of contents from relevant journals, and checklists of research currently underway. (Planning Report, p. 4.) However, the Report does not spell out specific mechanisms for dealing with the problem.

The idea of facilitating the exchange of information was refined by Gage (a Planning Committee member). He felt AERA should do more to stimulate a critical review of relevant literature in different problem areas:

> AERA sorrily needs a journal that will carry volunteered papers reviewing, criticizing educational research, much more similar to the Psychological Bulletin than anything we have now, or anything that would be, could be done by the Review or, say, even an annual review of educational research, where the reviews and criticisms are commissioned on a cyclical basis.
>
> The volunteered criticism of a field of research which some man produces, because he can't keep himself from producing it, he is so interested in it, and so expert on the subject, that kind of thing we don't have any medium for now, and I think we certainly ought to think about it. (Gage, Colloquium, p. 176.)

Gage stresses the need for a critical review of the accumulated research on a particular problem. As envisioned by Gage, this journal would contain critical analyses of both the methodology and substance of educational research, like the comparable journal in psychology. (Gage interview.)

This idea appears in the Planning Report in the following form:

> RECOMMENDATION 3.3: That the Review of Educational Research be converted to the Psychological Bulletin type of review....(Planning Report, p. 4).

Here is almost verbatim acceptance of an idea that appeared in the Colloquium. It is important to note that this idea did not spring full blown from the head of Jove, however, since Gage indicated in an interview that the idea did not originate at the Colloquium, but was an idea he had held for some time. Gage's role in advancing that idea was recalled by at least one other Planning Committee member. Recalling the Planning deliberations, McLean said that Committee members were trying to make educational research a more self-policing profession, with critical reviews. He said they discussed a Psychological Bulletin type of publication and that Gage was an advocate for that. (Interview with McLean.)

What the history of this idea suggests is that sociological theory or data may serve to reinforce and strengthen a policy-maker's conviction that his idea is important and should be pursued. In this case, Colloquium may have served to make others more receptive to Gage's ideas, since the ideas were congruent with those presented by the social scientists.

In general terms, several Planning Committee members indicated that they thought that the publications recommendations were the clearest example of the influence of the Colloquium on the Planning Committee (e.g., McLean interview).

In addition,to facilitating communication among researchers, AERA was concerned with how it might use its journals to make AERA more inclusive of the educational research community. To attract scholars from the behavioral sciences, the Planning Report recommends changing the AERJ, the journal publishing original research reports:

> At present the AERA does not provide a publications program, either in image or reality, of the kind required by the broader community of scholars in education the Association should attract. During recent years, there has been a serious effort to broaden the coverage of the AERJ. But this journal still leans heavily toward educational psychology, in fact, and even more in image.

> The Committee proposes that more effort be expended toward making the AERJ a journal for the broader universe of educational research. This might be done, for example, by devoting each issue to a different discipline, cluster of disciplines, or sample of problems and methods. We must recognize, however, that the AERJ is approaching or has attained maximum size for the journal format and that there is now both a formidable backlog of articles and an even more formidable rejection rate. These indices point to the need for creating ultimately -- and ultimately already may be here -- a journal designed at the outset to embrace the field of educational research as defined in this report. (Planning Report, p. 5.)

While the Committee recommended changing the focus of AERA's major journal so as to be more inclusive of behavioral scientists, there was another problem of inclusiveness faced by the association that could only be identified, without a solution being offered. That was the problem of including younger researchers in the internal communication systems of the association (publications and annual meetings). The Planning Report states:

> The Committee identified a growing need for vastly improved informal communication within the Association among scholars pursuing comparable or parallel areas of interest. Some of this now goes on among small clusters of persons who have initiated agreements to exchange progress reports. But more needs to be done by the units (interest groups and divisions) of the Association, especially for those younger researchers who find it difficult to create or gain entry to clusters in which communication occurs. The Association Council should encourage the divisions to assume responsibility for assessing the need for scholarly communication... (p. 5).

This statement is particularly important in light of the relative youth of the AERA membership. As noted in Chapter I more than two thirds of AERA members in 1970 had received their highest degree in the prior decade. Hence, the problems of facilitating communication and being inclusive of more members of the educational research community is especially relevant for younger researchers.

The foregoing discussion has been concerned with communication either within AERA or at least within the educational research community. The Colloquium and the Planning Committee, however, were also concerned with how AERA might communicate more effectively with other audiences, with

the clear implication that this might enhance public and Congressional support for educational research.

Only one statement in either the papers or the Colloquium refers to how AERA might use its publications to increase its influence on research policy. That was a statement Orlans made in an interview with Corwin. Orlans said:

> I'd like to see more professional groups like AERA in other areas of activity -- like medical research. You have a very fragmented kind of information. You get snips of news of a National Science Foundation policy in Physics Today or in Chemical and Engineering News. Most of the social science professions have gone to a special publication, such as the American Psychologist, the American Sociologist and P.S., but those really deal with professional matters...It doesn't add up to a continuing examination of major government programs and significant changes let alone informing people about them in time so that they can express their views before a change in research policy occurs. I think AERA has been in a natural position to do that, and I'd only like to see more efforts of this kind in the social sciences. It would be both to the benefit of the social science professions, and, of course, to the government. It keeps those government people on their toes. (Orlans, quoted in Corwin paper, p. 21.)

As articulated by Orlans to Corwin, AERA could play a focal role in disseminating and critically examining new professional developments. In this way, people might begin to look to AERA for news and commentary. If it became an arbiter it might exert more influence on professional matters that impinged upon its members.

In regard to communicating with a larger audience, the Planning Committee recommendations went far beyond anything suggested in the papers or at the Colloquium. This is quite different from the problem of internal communication where paper and Colloquium ideas are both more numerous and more specific than Committee recommendations. With respect to external communication, the Committee recommended that:

> the Educational Researcher be converted into Educational Science (tentative title) a journal fashioned after Science devoted to 'an outward look' from the perspective of advances in educational science, to communication across segments of the educational community, and to Associational business, news, and special reports. (Report, pp. 2-3.)

After presenting this recommendation, the Report described in detail the Committee's rationale:

> We have in mind a publication that would speak to and for the broad educational research community we are seeking to pull within the orbit of the AERA and that would report research developments to both educational practitioners and interested laymen (members of Congress, School boards, foundations, etc.). Such a publication would seek to describe the nature of the educational research community and its work, speak for research-based educational policies, provide a quality conscience for the educational enterprise, monitor the field through effective criticism, reduce the time lag in regard to scholarly review of highly visible educational projects, and assist in establishing some coherency with respect to the advancement of educational science. These purposes would be achieved through the publication of general articles defining and assessing ongoing research, summarizing findings and implications, and pinpointing areas of research neglect; through news and comment pertaining to the research community; through editorial comment on the state of the field. Brief research reports such as those contained in the back pages of Science might serve to attract contributions from other disciplines engaged in educational research.... (Planning Report, p. 4.)

This very ambitious recommendation proposes drastically changing the AERA's short (five to eight page) newsletter into a Science type publication that would "provide a quality conscience," "reduce the time lag" and advance educational science. It would report research developments to both educational practitioners and interested laymen. Clearly the objective of this recommendation is to increase the influence and prestige of AERA and educational research generally.

The Committee "discussed at length the problem of interpreting educational research and its importance to several audiences, but was unable to produce firm recommendations beyond those set forth above." (Planning Report, p. 5.) They did express a belief, however,

> that some of the suggestions emerging from Committee discourse have merit. One is that the Publications Committee convene a meeting of persons who have written about education for public consumption (e.g., Paul Woodring, Frank Jennings, and Fred Hechinger) to discuss ways of developing writer interpreters of educational science. Another is that the AERA persuade a highly visible educational researcher (who is able to write for the lay public) to write a syndicated column on the field. Still another is that the executive office establish the kind of communications

> with the press that would lead to the reporting of educational research in popular media. Some efforts along this line already have been made sufficient to reveal that the popularization of what educational research contributes and what educational researchers do will not be easy. Nonetheless, the Committee regards the interpretive function to be of critical importance for the AERA to assume. (Planning Report, pp. 5-6.)

Thus, the AERA Planning Committee thought that their communication efforts should be concerned with wide external communications, as well as with improving internal communications.

C. Quality Control

As indicated in Figure 4, many of the Colloquium participants perceived at least an implicit relationship between the communication system (CS), reward system (RS) and the quality of educational research. Some of these linkages have already been considered in the previous two sections. Here we will focus specifically on the concept of quality.

The papers solicited for the Colloquium discussed several aspects of the problem, namely; (a) the importance of improving educational research, (b) how the quality control system works in other scientific fields, and (c) how educational research might be improved. At the Colloquium, participants considered many specific ideas about how quality could be enhanced.

The importance of improving educational research was highlighted by Corwin, who reported in his paper that

> the underlying importance of fostering high quality research was designated by Zuckerman as the chief problem facing educational research. (Corwin paper, p. 10, reporting on his interview with Zuckerman.)

The agreement of many Colloquium participants with the importance of quality is apparent in the considerable time that was spent discussing how research could be improved. Some participants seemed to see the concern with quality as being of intrinsic worth. Others seemed to view quality as both intrinsically important and as instrumentally necessary, so as to enhance and legitimize the political influence of AERA and educational research generally.

While several papers stressed the importance of quality for a scientific field, only one paper mentioned a specific way that research might be improved. From his own thinking and from an interview with Cole, Corwin raises the question of quality control:

> What seems to have been a boon to educational research -- the rapid expansion of research funds following in the wake of the 1965 ESE Act -- may have been a disservice. Speaking to the problem of how to get better educational research, Cole suggests that funding agencies supporting research on education should cut back their budgets rather than give grants to people who don't present adequate credentials or adequate proposals. (Corwin paper, p. 14.)

This funding-reduction approach to improving quality was not picked up by the Planning Committee. Rather, Colloquium participants discussed two principal means of quality control: starting new journals and raising journal standards. In the previous section, we noted Gage's interest in starting a journal of critical reviews so we will not consider that means further here.

With regard to raising journal standards, Storer said,

> If you can't beat them (other disciplines with more prestige), join them. The only way to solve this is to improve the toughness of editorial standards for journals in your own field. And this is a long, slow process, and a lot of heads get cracked along the way, but it is the only way in the long run to make it as rewarding in, say, the one cited by you. (Storer, Colloquium, p. 133.)

Here he is implying that if editorial standards are raised, the prestige of the affected journal will be enhanced, which will increase the desire of individuals to publish in that journal and reap the rewards of doing so. Thus, Storer is suggesting the interrelation of the reward and communications systems, and their implications for quality.

> There is an enormous shift in many fields of science toward policy research and away from conceptual research, and the temper of the country is requiring it right now. If we are not tough-minded with ourselves as we turn out policy research products, we painfully learn that other people will be, and that the methodology that was adequate for conceptual research is not

adequate for policy research. (Paisley, Colloquium, p. 161.)

He thinks standards need to be raised because educational research will increasingly be judged for its utility for policy-making and those standards may be more severe than the ones for academic research, though he doesn't indicate the sense in which standards may be more rigorous in policy research.

Like Gage, Paisley feels that the best way to raise standards may be by starting a new journal:

> I think AERA should be cognizant of the concept of a best match between an objective, such as perhaps raising the standards of methodological practice in educational research, and a function to meet that objective such as a new AERA journal that might be called "Review of Educational Methodology." (Paisley, Colloquium, p. 155.)

Thus, he feels that the way to stress new goals is through new means. Since a central purpose of the Planning Report was to stimulate the "quality of productivity of the educational research community" (Report, p. 1), it is impossible to single out one or two recommendations that were solely addressed to the problem of raising quality. Rather, many of the communications and reward system proposals already discussed were probably made because they were expected to enhance the quality of educational research. Therefore, it is important to analyze how all three (rewards, communications, and quality) were implicitly seen as being related to a fourth major problem facing AERA: how the association could increase its political influence.

D. Political Influence of AERA

As noted at the outset, AERA's lack of influence on the agencies funding educational research was one of the reasons for calling the Colloquium. The AERA Executive Director felt that unlike associations in other areas (e.g., science, medicine, agriculture), AERA had virtually no impact on federal educational research policy.

In his paper, Hagstrom remarked on three features of the relationship between scientific societies and government agencies which distinguish the natural sciences from education. First he noted the development of advisory panels as a mechanism for funding research:

> In most of the basic sciences university scientists influence decision about the funding of research at many levels of government and the foundations. The invention of advisory panels and the project system in the United States following 1940 seems to have been very successful; the government has been able to support research without taking away the freedom of scientists or scientific organizations, and it seems as if decisions at lower levels usually allocate research funds efficiently. (Hagstrom paper, p. 11.)

While at the time of this writing these panels are under fire from the Nixon administration, Hagstrom wrote in 1968 noting how such panels served to preserve the freedom of scientists. For those concerned with the influence of scientific societies on research funding, Hagstrom observed:

> Ordinarily the scientific society plays little formal role in making decisions or selecting the personnel for advisory panels, but informally the society can provide a locus for discussions about the right men to be selected for advisory panels. (Hagstrom paper, p. 11.)

Thus, Hagstrom feels that while a society cannot select the panel members, it can play an informal role in advancing research needs or possible panel members. Nevertheless, with regard to educational research, Hagstrom is generally pessimistic about the influence of societies:

> In the area of educational research scientific societies seem to have had much less influence on governmental and foundation policies than in the established sciences or medicine. This may be due partly to the rather recent growth of government efforts in educational research. It is also possible that this lack of influence stems from a lack of legitimacy of education researchers in the eyes of the relevant publics -- the academic disciplines and the intellectual community more generally -- and from the great power of educational administrators at local and state levels. (Hagstrom paper, p. 11.)

In this instance Hagstrom, himself a sociologist, is adding his reflections to the client's perceptions of the problem. It is not clear how his statements could be used as anything but a general context for policy deliberations.

Like Hagstrom, Corwin also compares educational research with the physical sciences. Commenting on his interview with Zuckerman, Corwin notes:

> In the physical sciences, the agencies distributing research funds frequently have been headed and staffed by leading scientists. Commenting on this fact, Zuckerman speculated (that) the fact that a first class physical chemist heads the Atomic Energy Commission perhaps prevents split from developing between bureaucrats and professionals. She noted that it is a common practice to appoint professionals on a temporary basis to such agencies. (Corwin paper, p. 38.)

Zuckerman suggests that a split between agency personnel and scientists is unlikely in physics because agency heads are often leading scientists.

Corwin offers two speculations about why this may be the case:

> However, the route by which physical scientists have come into these positions of influence within the operating agencies is less obvious. Many factors appear to be involved. For one thing, physical scientists are less reluctant than social scientists to accept employment outside the academy (which may reflect greater security provided by more mature disciplines); in many of the newer agencies they were in on the ground floor when the agency developed (which is not the case for an old line agency like the Office of Education). (Corwin paper, p. 38.)

Corwin's suggestion that physical scientists are less hesitant than social scientists to work outside of universities would be an interesting question to explore empirically. His other explanation, that physical scientists are more likely than social scientists to have been in on the ground floor, warrants examination in light of the recently developed NIE.

Finally, as a major reason why education has had less influence than the physical sciences on research policy, Corwin reports Cole's observation

> few laymen would try to tell physicists what to do whereas many people in education without research backgrounds feel that they're social scientists. (Corwin paper, p. 39.)

Implicit in this observation is the question of whether the authority of educational researchers is accepted as legitimate. Sociologists have observed and analyzed a number of conditions that are related to whether or

not a given authority is accepted as legitimate, but none of that background was presented or discussed for policy makers. In this example I think that sociological insights are presented in a form that might be considered cryptic for a non-sociologist. By this I mean that the matrix of meaning in which these ideas are embedded in the heads of sociologists may not exist in the heads of policy makers. Thus, these cases may be prime illustrations of the "distance" between sociologists and policy makers. It would be interesting to examine whether in instances of extensive utilization, the "distance" was narrowed in part by explicating more specifically the matrix of the sociologist's ideas and thus by imparting more of that conceptual or empirical matrix to the policy maker.

Corwin then made several specific recommendations in his paper:

> Political activity might take two distinct directions. First, the development of greater coherence and unity within a field requires that people in the field develop some influence over its sources of support. The field might be example establish policy committees to make recommendations to government funding agencies and look into ways of encouraging social scientists to exercise more influence in research policy matters. In comparison with some other fields, social scientists have not as yet found representation in government staff positions and key committees to an extent to sufficiently exercise significant influence. (Corwin paper, p. 52.)

Here he suggests that AERA establish committees to take policy positions on research funding. This proposal breaks with AERA's past history of uninvolvement.

Corwin goes on to recommend that:

> some efforts might be directed to influencing legislation itself. in particular, there is need for <u>separate legislation</u> for the support of basic and applied research, as opposed to development and service. The Congress and the public generally hold different expectations for each type of activity and the people responsible for each type of work will be held accountable in different ways. (Corwin paper, p. 52.)

By suggesting separate legislation to support basic research, Corwin is reflecting the concern of discipline researchers that they not be judged only by practical considerations. Nevertheless, both of Corwin's comments

imply that AERA's influence was low.

Despite agreement among two paper writers and the AERA Executive Officer that AERA's influence on federal research policy was minimal (and by implication that this was an important problem), however, the Colloquium devoted very little discussion to the issue. There was one conversation on the subject between Storer and Hanna (an AERA staff member):

> HANNA: You pointed out medical research ... and agricultural research. I assume that they are both more mature fields than education.
>
> STORER: That is true.
>
> HANNA: Did they cross this bridge (of encouraging both basic research and practitioners) and how did they solve the problem?
>
> STORER: Mostly with massive support for all sorts of activities from outside. The Governemnt thought for the last hundred years that agricultural research was important, and for 20 years that medical research was also...
>
> HANNA: But they don't presumably feel that educational research is that important.
>
> STORER: I think they are coming to it. The problem is now to get them to put their money into communication mechanisms like journals and review panels, and so on, rather than simply research funding. I don't know how money is allocated, and how it is spread between the two different functions. (Colloquium, pp. 126-127.)

Two issues underlie this exchange. First, there is the question of how and why education is different from medicine and agriculture. It could be that the differences implied by Storer and Hanna are the result of varying degrees to which the various roles of researcher, developer, disseminator and practitioner are institutionalized in the different field. Another explanation for the different relationships between education, agriculture, medicine and federal agencies might stem from the importance each of those fields has for the economic and stratification systems of society. Since

the educational system as it presently operates corresponds relatively well to the economic and stratification systems, educational research may well have a lower priority in the federal budget than medical or agricultural research.

The second issue raised by Storer and Hanna's exchange is the question of the difference between support for research itself and support for mechanisms that promote good research. Implicit in Storer's statement is the assumption that journals and review panels are important for enhancing the quality of research.

It is interesting to note that Storer and Hanna were discussing general policy stances federal agencies might take, without making any direct reference to how AERA might influence that policy.

The most direct reference in the Colloquium to the problem of increasing AERA's political influence was Goodlad's (Planning Committee Chairman) reminder of the preceeding Planning Committee's recommendations on the subject:

> Let me say, incidentally, that the Tyler Committee recommended, with respect to federal relations, in its concluding statement, that it 'strongly reaffirms what has been the past policy of AERA, namely, that the Association as an organization should not attempt to speak for the field or attempt to influence government policies.' (Goodlad Colloquium, p. 326.)

From this statemtnt it is apparent that as recently as two years earlier, the AERA Planning Committee had concluded that AERA should continue its past policy of <u>not attempting to influence government policies</u>.

The question at this juncture is, did AERA continue its "hands off" policy with regard to political influence or did the Goodlad Planning Committee reverse previous AERA policy and recommend efforts to influence federal research policy?

The Planning Committee made five suggestions (a different, and weaker, mode than their earlier recommendations) on the subject of what they termed "Relations to the Political/Social context." These suggestions were:

1. That the AERA work collaboratively with other groups in an effort to strengthen public and Congressional support for educational research.

2. That the AERA provide for thorough, quick review of educational projects financed by the Federal government.

3. That the AERA form a continuing series of ad hoc committees addressing themselves to educational policy issues which could be illuminated by research processes and findings.* (To my knowledge there were none in operation at the time.)

4. That the AERA serve as a kind of clearing house for the indentification of individuals willing and able to provide expert testimony before Congress on various educational problems and issues.

5. That the AERA create a standing committee both to examine federal policy for education and to provide the membership with relevant data on federal and other commitments to educational research. (Planning Report, p. 22.)

All five of these suggestions directly contrast with the previous AERA position, since they all involve efforts to influence government research policy. The committee of two years earlier had concluded the opposite, that AERA should not try to influence government research policy. In addition, the last suggestion recognizes the importance of federal policy for AERA members, in that it calls upon AERA to transmit information about federal affairs to the membership.

How can we understand this dramatic shift in AERA policy in such a short time? At least three major factors in this situation differ from those in the earlier case. The people on the Planning Committee, the historical context, and the social science papers all represented changes from the previous instance. Any one or all three might account for the reversal of policy. If we are willing to assume that social science may have had some influence, how

does it appear that this influence may have occurred? The sociologists presented their observations about how other fields had much more influence on federal policy than did AERA. This idea had been repeatedly advanced by the AERA Executive Officer. One Planning Committee member recalled:

> (We discussed) how AERA could become (a more) visible spokesman for educational research, especially with Congress. Here (the executive officer) was influential with his thinking. (He indicated that) for example, AAAS, AMA, etc. all would be consulted by (federal agencies and/or Congress), but AERA isn't. There weren't any visible alternatives to AERA (in the way of organizations that might influence federal educational policy). (McLean interview.)

Thus, evidence about AERA's relative lack of impact on federal policy was remembered as influential by a Planning Committee member.

In two papers, sociologists also speculated that the lack of political influence might be due to others' refusal to accept the legitimacy of educational researchers' authority and to the relative lack of power of educational researchers vis a vis school administrators. While these theoretical strands were not picked up directly, they, in combination with the observations about other fields, may have made the idea of greater involvement with federal policy more salient for policy makers than it would have been otherwise. This interpretation was suggested by an interview with another Planning Committee member. Shutz felt that the recommendation to start a "special political-type organization" was directly influenced by the Colloquium:

> 'People were aware before (of the importance of Federal policies) but the Colloquium may have made more converts to the point of view of AERA doing more in the area.' (Shutz interview.)

This policy maker's use of the word "converts" suggests that the locus of change here was one of attitude or opinion rather than a question of factual information. As he says, everyone already knew the federal government

was important. What changed was their opinion about what their relationship with federal policy should be. By suggesting what other associations were doing in relation to the government and by acknowledging the importance of political power in the policy process, sociologists may have made the idea of AERA's involvement more acceptable. It is possible that in this instance the ideas of sociologists may have served to create a climate of greater acceptance for an idea.

Chapter 4

IMPLEMENTATION

This chapter examines the varying extent to which ideas presented at the Colloquium were implemented by policy-makers. As already noted, the AERA Council's commitment to implement any recommendations contained in the Planning Report was hampered by the apparent draft nature of that report. Nonetheless, the Council did initiate deliberate and visible efforts to implement several of the major recommendations.

One especially interesting programmatic change, however, grew not from any particular recommendation but from the general impact of the Colloquium: this was a new stress by the AERA Council on the importance of organizational self-study. Prior to the Colloquium, AERA had very little data on its membership, journal readership, and annual meeting attendance. Garvey's paper in particular, showing that 256 AERA convention papers had been submitted to 67 different journals, seemed to have a dramatic effect of surprise on the council members and planning committee. Realizing that there were important aspects of their operation on which they had little or no information, they concluded that institutionalized empirical social research could be of considerable worth. As a result, the executive officer commissioned me in 1971 to do a small survey of current and former members with respect to their interests, work, need for the Association, etc., and in 1972 hired a half-time staff researcher to study broader aspects of AERA operations.

The foregoing example illustrates how a dramatic effect -- the demonstration of information gaps within the AERA -- boosted an idea toward implementation even though it required additional funds. In contrast, the fate of the publications recommendations illustrates the more frequent instance of implementation constrained by financial considerations.

Recommendations addressing the issue of quality control suggested raising the editorial standards for journals, but did not specify whether new journals should be started or the policy should be applied to existing journals. While it would be more dramatic to institute a new journal with tough standards and policies, practical concerns limited AERA to the option of changing existing journals. These factors, in combination with the existing interest of one AERA Council member in having AERA produce a critical review, moved the association in the direction of changing the policy of an existing journal. The Review of Educational Research was already being published, so all that was required was to change the operating policy of that journal. While this step required consensus on the Council and the Publications Committee of AERA, it did not involve the Finance Committee, since additional funds were not needed.

Similarly, the Planning Committee recommendation that AERA facilitate communication within the association could be implemented by changing the content and format of another existing publication, the Educational Researcher. Changes in both of these journals were implemented within a year after the Planning Report was considered.

In contrast, the Publications Committee's 1970 recommendation that the AERA institute a new journal in the social sciences, which would seek articles with original quantitative data and also articles by historians and philosophers of education, has not yet been implemented as of January, 1974. A major obstacle has undoubtedly been cost. Given apparent difficulties in overcoming this obstacle, the AERA has made efforts to widen the coverage of the American Educational Research Journal. Formerly devoted almost exclusively to educational psychology, it now includes articles from other social sciences, especially sociology.

These examples suggest that the course of implementation may depend, not surprisingly, upon financial constraints and upon the existence of already operating vehicles or mechanisms which can be modified to conform to a new policy more easily than a new vehicle can be started from scratch. Of course, if an organization does not already have the medium to change or the resources to implement a recommendation, it may be able to interest some outside group in implementing certain ideas. This occurred when Peacock publishers agreed to publish the recommended critical annual review of educational research.

In general the Colloquium and Planning Report did not address the question of how recommendations might be implemented. The consequences of this lack were apparent in the area of Federal relations.

As previously noted, the Colloquium reinforced, and among some groups in fact created, the climate of support for AERA extension in federal activities. After the Planning Report supported the idea, AERA initiated a series of efforts to expand its influence in federal policy-making. The executive officer formed a group of "federal advisors" including a former Commissioner of Education, high-level HEW officials, and a scholar of the politics of education. Further, AERA held several dinner meetings for Congressmen and their aides, so they could meet prominent researchers in education and discuss new developments; they sent letters to their membership urging them to support Representative John Brademas from Indiana, who was a strong advocate of funds for research on education; and they made numerous efforts to develop relationships with high-level Office of Education personnel, in an effort to influence the selection of staff and research priorities. After three years of such activity, AERA leaders still felt that they were ineffective and that the "top leadership of OE has failed to respond to repeated offers from AERA officers and committees that might have produced the kind of symbiotic relationship with outside associations that have

supported programs for the handicapped, in guidance, and in vocational education." (Educational Researcher, March, 1972.) At that time the association decided to pull back and focus on training, publications and meetings. Thus, while the Colloquium may have helped to change AERA's desire for involvement, it could not change the environment's response. By not addressing the issue of how AERA might implement a policy of greater involvement in federal relations, the Colloquium and Planning Report contributed nothing to the success of those efforts.

On a more general level, the Colloquium may have led AERA to develop a somewhat different style for operating the association. After the Council had spent ten hours of the two day Council meeting discussing the Planning Committee's interim report, Dershimer observed that the emphasis in the association had moved away from the Planning Committee method of change, toward a tendency to work for changes and long-range planning within existing AERA committees. Most organizations at least acknowledge the idea of developing internal mechanisms for innovation. Whether AERA has succeeded in doing this remains to be seen over time.

Throughout the Colloquium and Planning Committee report, recommendations were presented in terms of what the association should do, but scant heed was paid to how it might implement the recommendations. In one instance described here, the data were so dramatic, and the need may have been so strongly felt, that the AERA marshalled additional resources to conduct studies of their membership and operations. In the case of publications recommendations, implementation could occur by changing the policies of existing publications or by interesting an independent publisher. In both examples, the principle difficulty in implementation was financial. Once the financial means were found, the ideas could be implemented.

In the case of recommendations dealing with federal relations, however, the practical difficulties involved in implementation went beyond financial problems. The AERA faced problems of political strategy and influence with little or no prior experience and with no guidance from the Colloquium or the planning report.

Chapter 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

When Richard Dershimer became the Executive Officer of AERA in 1964 he faced two kinds of problems. First, he confronted informational problems with respect to learning who the statesmen of educational research were and what it is that a community of scholars does for its participants. He also became increasingly aware of what might be called a political problem of organization. The relative importance and influence of AERA was much lower than it might have been. This was evident, he reports, in the fact that most of distinguished educational scholars named to the National Academy of Education (NAE) in 1964 were not members of AERA. Furthermore, AERA was not influencing federal policy on educational research at any level -- executive, congressional, or agency. His own reading in the sociology of science convinced him that perhaps social science theory and research might help AERA solve its problems.

In conjunction with the incoming AERA president, John Goodlad, Dershimer developed the plan for the Colloquium of scholars and policy-makers, for which papers would be prepared in advance. He decided whom to ask to write papers by consulting people he knew. The result was a collection of people interested in a problem that was somehow relevant to the concerns of AERA. With one exception, however, the paper-writers were not instructed to search for specific information or to deal with a particular topic. Instead, they were told to write a paper on a topic or problem that interested them, on the assumption that whatever they were doing might be helpful to AERA.

The authors of the Colloquium collected information in various ways. As already noted, only two gathered new data for the papers, although a third

author conducted secondary analysis of some existing data. The last two were primarily conceptual papers.

The papers were prepared and distributed to participants prior to the Colloquium. Since Corwin's paper was very long (56 pages), he and Selder wrote a 27 page overview, which was circulated in advance. Hagstrom distributed his paper at the beginning of the Colloquium. It is not clear that all participants had read the papers before the Colloquium, which meant that authors who effectively introduced ideas from or summarized their papers during the Colloquium may have been more widely considered than authors who did not.

Chapter 3 discusses in detail the way social science was utilized by the Planning Committee in formulating the policy recommendations. There were at least three forms in which social science was used: social concepts or theories, empirical data, and finally, the presence of social scientists as planners. Certain concepts were introduced in the Colloquium as relevant to the problems of AERA. The importance of the reward system in scientific fields was brought into the discussion by Storer, and was picked up by a sociologist on the Planning Committee who drafted the recommendation for the Fellows membership category in AERA. Storer also implied some causal relations between the reward system, the desire of individuals to join AERA and publish in its journals, and the quality of research in education.

There are several instances of the influence of new empirical data on policy recommendations. Not only did Garvey formulate many specific suggestions at the Colloquium on the basis of his empirical data, but, as already noted, his empirical studies demonstrated the value of research on the actual operations of AERA. In addition, Corwin's reports of interviews with sociologists of science served to focus considerable attention at the Colloquium and in the Planning Report upon the quality of research as a

key problem. Further, Corwin's observations about the role of professional association members in federal science policy-making may have served to provide a dramatic contrast for AERA planners when they considered their own situation.

As already noted, the importance of social scientists as planners cannot be underestimated, particularly with regard to making recommendations on the basis of social concepts of implicit causal models. The case studied here suggests that social concepts or orientations are much more likely to be brought to bear in decision-making when at least one of the important decision makers is a social scientist. Moreover, when a number of social scientists concur, as for example in the case of Corwin's reports about the role of natural scientists in influencing federal science policy, their more activist orientation may begin to prevail.

Social science would interact in various ways with policy makers. For example, social science could reinforce and strengthen existing ideas held by a policy-maker, as was suggested in the way Gage's idea for a critical review of educational research was supported by the Colloquium. By way of contrast, some ideas advanced at the Colloquium or in the Planning Report were not adopted by the AERA Council. Reasons for this include possibility that their consequences were too hard to fathom or were considered too far reaching; that not enough data were available, or that the implicit causal models were not assumed. The Fellows recommendation formulated by a sociologist on the Planning Committee on the basis of assumptions about the nature and operation of the reward system in scientific fields is an example of ideas not accepted.

Similarly, regarding both recommendations and implementation, there are widely differing degrees of overlap in ideas from the Colloquium and in

the recommendations, which underscores the importance of the receivers of the social science ideas for the transfer process. If social scientists are givers as well as receivers of the ideas, the chances of their being accepted seems to be greater.

Finally, with respect to both utilization and implementation, this case study reveals the importance of at least a translator or an advocate of particular ideas, particularly if giver and receiver do not share the same general orientations. For example, as a result of his own reading and thinking in the sociology of science, the executive officer of AERA become very familar with many of the ideas presented in the Colloquium. He was the single greatest interpreter of ideas between the Colloquium, the Planning Committee, and the Council. At the Council meetings, I observed, he summarized, some of the major themes of the Colloquium for the members.

The case of an idea which was not accepted by the Council, the Fellows recommendation, illustrates what happened to an idea that had no advocate. No one from the Planning Committee attended the Council meeting when the proposal was considered. While Dershimer was quite willing to interpret sociology of science ideas for the Council, apparently he felt that since this proposal so intimately concerned the AERA membership and the structure of the organization as it affected members, he should not speak for or against the recommendation, but should let it be decided by the members' elected representatives. But because no one was there to present the Planning Committee's rationale for the proposal, the Council was unwilling to approve the idea without understanding the basis on which it stood.

The AERA asked me to evaluate the Colloquium* to fulfill their contract with the U.S. Office of Education, which had supported the it.

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*Caroline H. Persell, "An Evaluation of a Strategy for Bringing Social Science to bear on Organizational Decision-making." Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, New York, NY, April, 1970.

After tracing the congruences between ideas presented in the Colloquium, the Planning Report, and the Council's actions, I concluded that the Colloquium's worth could be seen in terms of specific ideas that were adopted by the Association, and also in terms of the questions and problems it raised for AERA. I conclude that AERA policy-makers were faced with data and dilemmas that they had previously not had to confront to directly. The result was a sharpening of their awareness of the issues facing the Association. This result was particularly evident in the attitude of the Executive Officer, observed both by me and by a member of the Planning Committee. He said, "the Colloquium had powerful effects on the Executive Officer of AERA, mobilizing and energizing it." This conclusion suggests a final way that social science may have been utilized to provide new motivation to those asked to carry out the activities of an organization.